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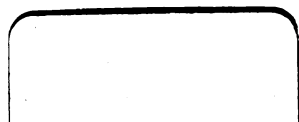
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VOLUME VII

NATURE SIMILES IN CATULLUS

BY

GEORGE HOWE

ΟΠΩΣ WITH 'AN IN OBJECT CLAUSES

BY

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NATURE SIMILES IN CATULLUS.

1. Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
Ultimi flos, praeter eunte postquam
Tactus aratrost. (11, 21-24).
2. Mentem amore revinciens,
Ut tenax hederæ huc et huc
Arborem implicat errans' (61, 33-35).
3. Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo convolvus aratro,
Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber,
Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
Idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
Cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
Nec pueris iocunda manet nec cara puellis. (62, 39-47).
4. Ut vidua in nudo vitis quæ nascitur arvo,
Numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uvam,
Sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
Iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum,
Hanc nulli agricolæ, nulli coluere iuveni;
At si forte eadem est ulmo coniuncta marita,
Multi illam agricolæ, multi coluere iuveni:
Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit;
Cum par conubium maturo tempore adepta est,
Cara viro magis et minus est invisæ parenti. (62, 49-58).
5. virgo
Regia, quam suavis expirans castus odores
Lectulus in molli complexu matris alebat,

* For an odd inversion of this simile, cf. 61, 102.

- Quales Eurotae propignunt flumina myrtus
Aurave distinctos educit verna colores. (64, 87-90).
6. Nam velut in summo quatientem bracchia Tauro
Quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
Indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
Eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
Prona cadit, late quaeviscumque obvia frangens),
Sic domito saevom prostravit corpore Theseus
Nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis.
(64, 105-109).
7. Haec mandata prius constanti mente tenentem
Thesea ceu pulsae ventorum flamine nubes
Aerium nivei montis liquere cacumen. (64, 238-240).
8. Hic, qualis flatu placidum mare matutino
Horrificans Zephyrus proclivas incitat undas
Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina solis,
Quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae
Procedunt, leviterque sonant plangore cachinni,
Post vento crescente magis magis increbescunt
Purpureaque procul nantes a luce refulgent,
Sic ibi vestibuli linquentes regia tecta
Ad se quisque vago passim pede discedebant.
(64, 269-277).
9. Namque velut densas praecerpens messor aristas
Sole sub ardenti flaventia demetit arva
Troiuenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro.
(64, 353-355).
10. Maesta neque assiduo tabescere lumina fletu
Cessarent tristique imbre madere genae,
Qualis in aerii perlucens vertice montis
Rivos muscoso prosilit e lapide,
Qui, cum de pronae praeceps est valle volutus,
Per medium densi transit iter populi,
Dulce viatorum lasso in sudore levamen,
Cum gravis exustos aestus hiulcat agros. (68, 55-62).

11. Hic, velut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis
 Lenius aspirans aura secunda venit
 Iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata:
 Tale fuit nobis Alius auxilium. (68, 63-66).

I.

At the first glance, the most striking thing about these similes is the fact that five of the eleven occur in the same poem,² the epyllion *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, that three others appear in the formal epithalamia, and that only three of the whole number are used in poems of a personal nature. This would perhaps not be worthy of remark if the poet were another than Catullus, of all the Roman poets pre-eminently the most personal, the most spontaneous, the most lyric, the most direct in disclosing the deeper life of his heart.

It is particularly true of Catullus, if of any poet, that his art is not a thing outside of himself, but is the immediate and necessary expression of his most intimate emotions. It is this quality of truth which, more than any other, raises him to the foremost place among Rome's lyric poets. We feel compelled therefore to look to those poems in which he has so openly revealed himself for all the poetic modes of expression which are in a true sense natural to him. Of course it should not be understood by this that only that which is found in the poems of his own personal feeling is to be admitted as non-artificial; but it is to be understood that a form of expression which he fails to employ in the personal poems but elsewhere employs with comparative frequency and with rare brilliancy and beauty comes at once under suspicion as a thing that does not spring emotionally, so to speak, from his heart, but is elaborated by the intellectual skill of his brain.

Such argument is, however, not necessary to convince us that the simile is to Catullus merely a conventional device of rhetoric. It is a question whether the simile is ever more than that save in its own proper surroundings in narrative

poetry. In the natural epic it is peculiarly in place and springs into being with fine fitness, but in all other forms it invariably seems in whole or in part artificial. In Catullus the simile impresses one at once with its artificiality, and it is through its lack of the Catullan intimacy that we are left more or less cold. If this is true, then the three similes which are used in allusion to his own personal experience are of all the greater significance.

Two of these (10 and 11) occur side by side in the elegy to to his friend Allius and tell of the service¹ Allius had rendered him in supplying a meeting place for himself and his mistress. If this mistress was Clodia—a fact generally accepted but by no means with certainty established—the value he attached to the assistance of his friend is unquestionable, and forces us to look more closely at the objects in nature which supply him with a comparison.

The first one (10) is a mountain stream which, flashing down over the mossy stones, furnishes cool refreshment to the dwellers in the parched valley below; the second (11) is the favorable breeze which, to the joy of the sailors, springs up after the black storm. Without doubt both of these phenomena of nature lay within the poet's own experience and were certainly often objects of his personal observation. His birth-place, Verona, near the foothills of the Alps, afforded him many an opportunity of noting the details of the mountain stream which he pictures with such accuracy. Catullus's travels, the richness of his language in metaphors from the sea, his allusions to the sea more frequent than to any other object in nature, leave us in no doubt as to his experience of storm and the sweetness of the succeeding favorable breeze.

Yet with all this, there remains, somehow, the feeling that

¹ Commentators differ as to whether the object of comparison in 10 is the relief of tears or the service of a friend. In quoting the passage above I have followed the former view; but the context makes clear that in either case the ultimate object is the friend's service. For full discussion, vid. Ellis ad loc.

even these similes, personal though they are and certainly drawn from his own experience, are more or less cold and are still but the conventional trick of rhetoric. They fail in some vague, indefinable way of having the true spirit of Catullus which, when he is at his best and speaking from his heart of hearts, shuns and abhors all tricks and conventions. Exactly wherein the evidence of the missing quality lies is not easy to point out. It is a feeling rather than a judgment, and is not witnessed by anything that occurs in the passage, but by the absence of something which only the poet himself could put there. The feeling is made vivid, however, by a comparison with the poem on Sirmio or with that on the phaselus which brought the poet home from his travels. It would hardly be fair to make comparison with any of the Lesbia cycle, although such comparison would readily convince us.

May not this sense of coldness, if the feeling is a true one, serve as a corroborative argument that the mistress referred to in these verses—*ad quam communes exerceremus amores*—was after all not Clodia?

The third simile (1) of the three that express a comparison for personal things is the most beautiful and the most celebrated of all the eleven. And justly so, because here we feel that we are with the real Catullus. After his long and faithful service of love, after the forgiving of Clodia's countless sins against himself, her final conduct of heartless cruelty and abandon, of open and flagrant shame, has uprooted his love—so, at least, he believes for the moment—just as the passing plowshare uproots the wild flower on the edge of the meadow.

The simile forms the close of the bitter, indeed brutal message of dismissal in answer, probably, to some appeal on Clodia's part to be reinstated. The very simplicity of expression, the very brevity, put us in close touch with the man's heart; and the tenderness in the allusion naively reveals his self-pity and the very love he felt for his own passion which had been the inspiration of his life. The contrast between the brutality of the former part of the poem and the gentleness of the comparison bears witness to what

we infer from other sources, that he never wholly succeeded in freeing himself from his bondage to Clodia. This is the one simile altogether free from artificiality.

In sharp contrast with this are the five similes (5 to 9) that occur in the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*. Each is taken from a different object of nature. Ariadne is like the flowers that grow by the waters of Eurotas or those that are brought to bloom by the breezes of spring; the slaying of the Minotaur by Theseus is compared to the uprooting by the storm of a wide-spreading oak or a tall pine on the mountain-top; the slipping away of his father's instructions from the memory of Theseus is like the scattering of clouds before the wind from the snow-covered mountains; the departure of the wedding guests suggests the hurrying and merry plash of the waves driven by the breeze of purple morning; the slaughter of the Trojans that Achilles is some day to engage in will be like the reaper's mowing of the yellow grain under the hot sun. All of these are more or less commonplace, particularly the two similes for slaughter, and are subject to the same comment as the first two above; but they are all handled with the usual freedom and sweep of Catullus.

Of the three similes 2 to 4 two are the threadbare comparison of marriage with the union of the vine and the tree. The very brief one in poem 61 (2) is reduced to its simplest terms and is in no way noteworthy, unless it be in the variation from the usual grapevine to the ivy. The second one (4) is carried out with elaborate detail: The widowed vine in a field barren of all cultivated things—and so more or less without beauty to the average Roman—is unable to raise itself up or to produce fruit, but bending with its own weight touches its topmost branch with its root, valueless alike to husbandman and cattle; but if it chance to be united with the elm, its value at once returns. The simile is of course from the wine-growing industry of Italy'. The third simile of this group is far more pleasing. The com-

¹Friedrich, *Commentar*, p. 289, has pointed out its Italian character.

parison of a maiden to a flower is very frequent in Catullus both in direct allusion and in metaphor.^{*} In this case, the maiden is a flower that grows hidden away in a shut-in garden, nourished by the sun, the rain, and the breezes, and desired of all; but when plucked, withers and is an object of desire to none.

This brief outline of the contents of the similes shows a wide enough variety, when the limited number of objects for which comparisons are sought is taken into consideration. The meadow flower, the ivy and the tree, the plucked flower, the neglected vine, the myrtle of Eurotas, the oak and pine felled by the tempest, the scattering of the clouds, the waves driven by the wind, the mowing of grain, the mountain stream, the favorable breeze—there are no duplicates. Sea, sky, mountain, field, river bank, vineyard, storm, are the sources for the poet's material. No less varied are the subjects that suggest comparisons: the death of love, the clinging bride, the unmarried maiden, the beautiful Ariadne, the slaying of the Minotaur, forgetfulness, the departure of the wedding guests, the slaughter of the Trojans, the relief of tears, the assistance of a friend. One is struck by the fact that in this list many more occasions for the simile suggest themselves to the poet in the emotions or the mental activities of the human characters than in their physical acts. But this is only in keeping with the character of the poet and of his best poetry.

II.

A certain degree of objectivity—by which is meant, the standing off at a distance from the phenomena of the natural world about us in order the better to observe and appreciate them—is essential in all cases to the simile. If the object with which the simile makes comparison be removed, the simile itself is necessarily merely an objective picture of a bit of nature. From this point of view the similes of Catullus

^{*}So frequently in c. 61; cf. 64, 89; 62, 64; 100, 2.

are of special interest, because it is only in them that he ever stops to paint nature objectively at all. In all his other allusions nature is but a setting for the human action, offering either contrast or likeness, and mentioned in a quite incidental manner. It is true that no Roman poet has handled the natural setting so brilliantly and with such power as Catullus has in the *Attis*, but nowhere in the frantic rush of that remarkable poem are we stopped to be shown nature *an und für sich*. If we would learn, then, of the poet's nature painting, we must look to these few short passages containing his similes.

Much as we are made to feel their conventional character, as suggested above, nevertheless we can see plainly through them that Catullus had an appreciation for the beautiful in nature such as was rare among the poets of his race. We are accustomed to say that the Romans admired the milder, gentler forms of nature, but abhorred, were even terrorized by, the rugged, the grand, the picturesque, the wild, the lonely. The practical Roman, lover of form and order, felt the beauty of a cultivated vine or flower, while he failed to see anything worthy of admiration in the wild bloom of the meadow or the untended vine allowed to trail upon the barren ground. This is all true enough in the main, but the rule finds notable exceptions. Vergil is the most prominent of these, and Catullus is at least a forerunner of the Mantuan in this respect.

We commonly regard Catullus as more or less negligible from this point of view, and indeed it is the least important side of him. But this attitude results rather from the paucity of material he furnishes us than from a lack in quality. He lived to write so little, and his fiery youth was busy with more profound emotions. It is impossible to read these brief pictures of sea and mountain stream, packed with color and sound and motion, and not grant him a real and true appreciation of nature. Especially did he love the sea, and he gives unmistakable evidence of having not merely the Roman fear of it, but even, on the contrary, a keen sense of its

beauty and a more or less distinct sense of its mystery. And it is no chance thing with Catullus that tenderness is invariably associated with a flower. A closer examination of one or two of these passages will give sufficient illustration of the truth of these observations.

The simile of the waves (8) is the longest single passage descriptive of the sea in Catullus, and it is the only passage of any length at all which speaks of the sea in one of its happier moods, which represents it as a thing of infinite beauty rather than, in the characteristic classical manner, a thing of awful power and dreaded mercilessness.

It was for movement of a particular kind that the poet sought an object for comparison—the movement of a crowd of people pouring out from the palace doors after the wedding: first the small straggling groups ahead, then the larger groups crowding ever faster and faster upon each other, and disappearing in the distance. He turns with certainty of choice to the waves of the open sea. In reading the passage, therefore, all emphasis is to be placed on the movement pictured. The skill with which this is done cannot be surpassed. At first the sea lies still and calm; but when the faint breeze of morning springs up, the surface becomes slightly ruffled, and as the wind freshens the slanting waves are lifted higher and higher; then follows the slow running of the billows driven by the ever stronger wind, until finally the full blast of the gale sweeps on the waves in full swing. But fine as the sense of motion is, the whole is made richer and more real by the touches of color and sound. The color is not the blue or the white of the sea surface that Catullus is so fond of, but this time the rosy-red of early morning. There is sound in the wind, and particularly pleasing, both in the happy phrase itself and in its aptness of application to the laughing chatter of the guests, are the words *plangore cachinni*.

This simile is commonly supposed—in accordance with the passion for proving that all things in the art of the Romans were but imitated or borrowed from the Greeks—to be taken

either from Homer II. 4, 422 or Aesch., Agam. 1180.; and Friedrich, finding that the Catullan passage contains some things mentioned in one source but not in the other, and vice versa, suggests that the passage in Catullus is a "contamination." But the whole spirit of the scene is entirely different from that in either of the sources, and the picture possesses a unity which is lacking in both of the Greek passages. The concentration by Catullus on rendering primarily the movement of the waves and the making all else so entirely subordinate and incidental, as well as the simplicity of the application of the simile, are in sharp contrast to the Greek verses cited. *Purpureaque procul nantes a luce refulgent* is all his own, and his too is *sonant plangore cachinni*. Catullus, unlike only too many of the Roman poets, is not a maker of such patchwork—as a closer comparison with the Greek passages would prove he must have been, if he borrowed at all,—and even where he deals in the conventional, it is easy to show that he adds his own peculiar touch and stamps it with his own individuality, as the true artist must always do.

The simile of the mountain stream (10) is a further illustration of the poet's appreciation of the things of the world of nature. Here Catullus does not have to seek an object for comparison which shall reproduce something visible to the naked eye, but one which shall suggest to the mind a sensation of supreme relief from previous suffering. Whether the point of departure for the likeness be the welcome shower of tears that have been long pent up and restrained, or the definite act of friendship on the part of Allius which afforded him the longed-for object of his desires, the sense of the simile is the same. This time comes the thought of the coolness of the stream from the mountains to the thirsty wayfarer in the valley below. The aptness of the likeness needs no comment.

In the simile of the waves the poet had confined himself, as already remarked, to picturing primarily the motion, lending color and sound only for the sake of reality; in this case there is nothing to limit him in his description to one quality of the

stream only, but he may take advantage of any detail that will quicken the contrast between the sweet, cool water and the sweating, thirsty traveller. To this end he traces the progress of the stream from its very source. Haupt¹ remarks three separate moments in this progress: the flashing forth from the top of the mountain, the leaping over mossy stones down the precipitous slopes of the valley, and the running over the parched flatlands below where the wayfarer slakes his thirst. And in this instance, too, reality is given the picture by the color in the flashing of the water, the green of the mossy bottom, the brown of the parched fields. In almost every word descriptive of the progress down the declivity there is sound; and the very phrases *perculens*, *muscovo e lapide prosilit*, *praeceps est volutus*, *dulce levamen* make one thirsty for the sparkling mountain water.

Catullus's observation of nature, like that of most of his fellow countrymen, is more or less limited to the more obvious characteristics. It is accurate as far as it goes, but it is not at all to be compared with the modern poet's exact observation of the minutest details. Although Catullus noted the rosy-red of light playing upon the waves in the early morning, and saw the *humida albicantis loca litoris*,² still it is for the most part merely the very striking blue of the sea or the white of the surface foam that he speaks of. He heard but the roar of the breakers on the shore and the ripple of the light waves driven by the wind. It seems pitifully little of all the colors and all the sounds he might have noted. On the other hand the motion of natural objects seems to have made a stronger appeal to his senses than color or sound. The concentration on motion both in the simile of the waves and in that of the mountain stream has been pointed out; it is noteworthy also in the *quatientem brachia quercum*, in the *turbo contorquens flamine robur*, and in the *saevom vanis iactantem cornua ventis* of the simile of the uprooting of the

¹Cited by Ellis ad loc.

² c. 63, 87.

trees by the tornado. We find it again in the *pulsae ventorum flamine nubes* (7) and in *in nigro iactatis turbine nautis* (11). In fact, if the point be pushed to an extreme, it is lacking in not a single one of the passages. But again the phenomena noticed are the more obvious.

One is inclined to think that the secret of Catullus's attitude toward nature is to be found not in the objects of sense perception but rather in the feelings engendered within himself by what he observes without. This would be in harmony with what we know of his fiery, passionate, emotional life and the odd mixture of brutality and tenderness of his character. And indeed the thought is borne out by the faint suggestion we catch in such a poem as the *Attis* of distinctions in the moods of sea and forest, of loneliness, of mystery.¹ It is further corroborated in the passages before us by his love for little things,² his tenderness for flowers.

In the transition of modern literature from the period known as the Classical to the Romantic, critics regard the treatment of outward nature as one of the criteria by which to fix a poet in his proper place in the development. They find three well defined stages in the attitude toward nature: the use of nature merely as a setting, the description of nature as objectively beautiful and a worthy theme for poetry, the interpretation of nature in terms of the human soul. The term Classical thus used places the work of the Roman poets at one extreme of the development. While it is undoubtedly true that they did not approach the Wordsworthian interpretation of nature, nevertheless a casual reading of Vergil will show that the term is a misleading one. And any sympathetic reader of Catullus's *Attis* and *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, examining his work from the point of view of these three principles, will grant that Catullus understood the value of nature as a setting, appreciating both the principles of contrast and

¹ cf. 63, 12 sqq; 63, 47 sqq; 63, 85 sqq. The same thing is clearly exhibited in 64, 124 sqq., and especially in 64, 182 sqq.

²It is well known that he carries the use of diminutives almost too far.

harmony, as few poets before him had done; that his similes indicate that he had an appreciation, though neither profound nor varied, of nature as an objectively beautiful thing; and that in a very vague and indefinable way he was a forerunner of Vergil, suggesting his romantic melancholy and his far-reaching power of interpretation.

ὍΠΩΣ WITH THE OPTATIVE AND ἌΝ IN OBJECT CLAUSES

Although this matter has been pretty thoroughly sifted, both in the larger manuals and in special treatises, there seems to be still some haziness about it, and Xenophon is still cited as the only prose author to make use of the construction. I trust therefore that a brief note will not be out of place.

It makes considerable difference how we regard the genesis of the construction. Practically all the commentators and grammarians regard the optative here as potential and ὅπως as the relative or interrogative particle¹, but the wording of the phrases is sometimes misleading, in so far as we might infer that the optative is the oblique construction of the subjunctive with ἄν retained. If the construction be regarded as the oratio obliqua equivalent of ὅπως ἄν and the subjunctive, it might be a solecism. The Greek usage requires that when the subjunctive of a dependent clause introduced by a particle with ἄν such as εἰάν, ὅταν, ἐπειδάν etc. becomes opt. in O. O., the particle must be dropped and the conjunction resume its original form. This law obtains throughout the best period of the language. We find, it is true, occasional violations of this law, which must be regarded as slips of copyists in the main, though a few may haply be due to the writer. The law of change arose before the practice of associating ἄν with the subjunctive became crystallized², and hence it is but natural that the newer custom should give place to the older. The bare conjunction therefore with the subjunctive is an archaism, but no solecism, while the retention of ἄν at the same time with the change to the optative is solecistic.

¹ Gildersleeve & Goodwin rightly regard the genesis as relative-interrogative.

² Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* III. p. 442.

Taking Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* as the most available authority, we find that after discussing the regular Attic prose construction (§339), he says (§331):

"Although Xenophon generally follows the Attic usage in these Object Clauses (§339), yet he violates this signally by having ὥς and ὥς ἄν with both subjunctive and optative and ὅπως ἄν with the optative; and further by having the optative with ὥς ἄν and ὅπως ἄν after both primary and secondary tenses. He also has ὥς twice with the future indicative (like ὅπως), and once with the future optative."

The wording of this distinctly leaves the impression that the optative is used with ὥς ἄν or ὅπως ἄν, though in §351, 2, he says:

"When the optative follows ὥς ἄν and ὅπως ἄν, it is always potential, and the original relative and interrogative force of ὥς and ὅπως plainly appears." This again is not strictly correct, for the ἄν belongs with the optative, not with the particle.

In §349, he says: "The only case of ὅπως ἄν with the optative in an object clause in Attic Greek except Xenophon (351) is Plato, *Lysis* 207 E, προθυμοῦνται ὅπως ἄν εὐδαιμονοίης, which is potential and on the Xenophontean model (351, 2). In Dem. XXXV. 29, ἐκελεύομεν τοὺτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἄν ὥς τάχιστ' ἀπολάβωμεν. Codex A reads ἀπολάβωμεν."

Godwin therefore rejects this example on the authority of one codex and so does Blass, who in the last Teubner edition reads ἀπολάβωμεν. Gildersleeve, however, discussing the final sentence in his review of Weber's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze* records no objection.

Blake in his edition of the *Hellenica* commenting on 2. 3. 13, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἄν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, says:

"An object clause after the idea of precaution in βουλευέσθαι, in which Xenophon violates by the use of ἄν and the optative the Attic usage. See G. M. T., App. IV. For an exactly similar example cf. III. 2. 1. In such cases the character of the clause as an object clause seems to be forgotten or ignored and it is considered as an indirect interrogative clause

with an original potential optative, as if the original thought, as conceived in the minds of the thirty was: πῶς ἂν ἐξείη ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως ἂν βουλώμεθα; the optative with ἂν being constantly used as a 'warmer future'. Gildersleeve, *A. J. P. XIV.* p. 500."

Brownson in his edition commenting on the same passage says: "Xenophon alone among Attic writers occasionally uses the optative with ἂν in object clauses instead of the regular future indicative. See *Intro.* IV G. I., and G. M. T. 351 and *App.* IV. In such cases ὅπως is really interrogative and its clause an indirect question with potential optative. The thirty ask themselves how it would be possible. G. M. T. 351, 2, GS. 447."

Büchschütz commenting on a similar passage in *Xen. Hell.* 3. 2. 1, says: "ὅπως ist hier zunächst mit einer indirekten Frage im optativ potentialen konstruiert, wie häufig."

It will be noted that Blake, Brownson and Büchschütz pronounce the construction interrogative, i. e. a dependent question, though Gildersleeve and Goodwin are both more correct in using the phrase relative-interrogative. Brownson also says "Xenophon alone," thus excluding Plato, *Lysis*, quoted above by Goodwin.

Thompson in his revised *Syntax of Attic Greek* says: "Xenophon uses ὅπως with Future Indicative, Conj., Optative, normally, like other Attic writers. He also uses them in constructions seldom or never found in Attic." His division into primary and secondary sequence, however, gives one the idea that the construction after secondary sequence is regular, which would imply that it is O. O. construction and not the potential optative.

Gerth in his revision of Kühner, II. 2. p. 375 Anm. 3, says: "Die relativ natur von ὥς and ὅπως wirkt aber auch nach σκοπεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι und ähnlichen Verben vielfach noch deutlich nach. Hieraus erklärt sich die namentlich bei Xenophon häufige Verbindung mit dem Optative und ἂν, sowohl nach einem Haupt Tempus als nach einer historischen Zeitform."

It will be observed that Gerth, while not limiting the usage

to Xenophon, insists upon the relative character alone.

Aken in his *Grundzüge der Lehre von Tempus und Modus im Griechischen* (1861), p. 111 says: "Dagegen gibt es nicht selten diesen Optativ mit ἄν='dass' nach Verbis des Strebens und zwar gerade nach Praesens. Dieser steht dem Futur synonym. Hier immer eine indirekte Frage zu statuieren ist nur willkür, indem es die Form mit 'dass' den Griechen Kurzweg abspricht, auch die Negation nicht berücksichtigt. So spricht der Sinn gegen die Annahme der Frageform."

Two points in this are worthy of note, first that Aken distinctly recognizes that the optative with ἄν is synonymous with the fut. ind., and secondly that he strongly combats the view that the construction developed wholly from the interrogativ form.

Krüger, *Sprachlehre* I, 54. 8. 6 says: "Vorherrschend findet sich der Indicativ des Futurs bei ὅπως nach dem Begriffen dafür sorgen, daraus hinarbeiten, sich bemühen u. ä. Es ist aber hier eigentlich rein relativ wie denn nach solchen Verben auch ὅτε τρόπῃ (zu Xen. An. 1. 3. 11) wie ὅπως u. ὥς mit ἄν und dem Optativ, erscheint (auch der blosse Optativ des Futurs in obliquen Rede nach historischen Tempus)."

Krüger, it will be seen, insists upon the relative nature of the construction,

Madvig, Arnold's edition §123 R. 3, p. 102 says: "After verbs like σκοπῶ, βοιλεύομαι there may be attached by ὅπως a dependent interrogative sentence with (potential) optative and ἄν (see §137) of that which may probably take place."

Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* IV, p. 431 says: "As for ὥς ἄν that (O, 6, 43) follows φυλάσσειν and might also be put down among the complementary final sentences, though the opt. with ἄν might be regarded there as an imperative, as the opt. with κε is an imperative in the famous Elean inscription (Boeckh CI G. 11, Cauer 258)."

Again, *A. J. F.* VI, p. 55, he says: "ὅπως ἄν w. opt. once (7, 65) used exactly as Herodotus would have used it."

Again commenting on Andocides, *A. J. P.* VI, 56 "ὅπως ἄν occurs in a ψήφισμα, ὥς ἄν in 4. 23 (ὥς ἄν μάλιστα . . . ποιήσειε),

where *μάλιστα* may have something to do with it as *μᾶλλον* in the solitary Platonic passage (*A. J. P.* IV, p. 419)."

Commenting on the final sentence in Plato, he says: "In *Lysis* 207 E the clause follows the analogy of the relative interrogative sentence (See *A. J. P.* IV, 442)."

It will be seen that Gildersleeve with his usually quick and correct vision and his absolutely perfect feeling for language long ago recognized the influence of the *πὼς ἄν* clauses as well as that of the relative clauses.

It will be observed that Xenophon is not the only Attic author to use this construction, and I hope to show that even if he were, there can be no legitimate objection to its use.

In *Ant.* 1. 17 we find: *ἐντεῦθεν ἐβουλεύετο ἡ ἀνθρωπος ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τὸ φάρμακον δοίη, πότερα πρὸ δείπνου ἢ ἀπὸ δείπνου, ἴδοξεν οὖν αὕτη βουλευομένη βέλτιον εἶναι μετὰ δείπνον δοῦναι*, where but for the addition of the *πότερα . . . ἢ* clause, the *ὅπως* clause would almost unquestionably be felt as a complementary final. It is perhaps interrogative temporal, a very rare usage in Attic prose, rather than interrogative modal.

In Plato, *Prot.* 318 E, we read, *Τὸ δὲ μάθημά ἐστιν εὐβουλία περὶ τε τῶν οἰκείων, ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν διακοῖ, καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος ἂν εἴη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν*. Here again, though the commentators caution us that *ὅπως* is 'how' not 'that', it is difficult to divest oneself of the feeling that there is a final colouring and *εὐβουλία* is not without influence. At any rate, it helps to show the relative origin of the construction as the the example from *Ant.* helps to show the interrogative nature.

Again Plato *Ap.* 27 E, *ὅπως δὲ σύ τινα πείθοις ἂν καὶ σμικρὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα ἀνθρώπων, ὥς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ θεῖα ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ μήτε δαίμονας μήτε θεοὺς μήθ' ἦρωας, οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν*, where the final colouring is to my mind distinct¹. Like passages are also found in Plato, *Rep.* 393 D., where the clause is clearly without final colouring and in 415 C., where again it is difficult not to feel final force.

¹ This paper was written before I had access to Stahl's *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums*. It was a pleasure to see my view of this passage confirmed by him. See pp. 567. 1; 570. 2; 572. 3 and 573. 1,

Examples of the pure relative or interrogative clause both with the fut. ind. and with the potential opt. are common, e. g., Isoc. 5, 187. 5, 8; Isae. 3, 16, Lys. 5, 5. Isoc. 5, 35. Thuc. 1, 107, 4, where Morris comments as follows: “ὅπως with the fut. for the more usual δ’ ὅπως.”

These examples seem to show conclusively that both relative and interrogative clauses must have had their influence in the development of the complementary final clause with δ’ ὅπως and the opt. with ἄν.

The parallelism of the potential opt. with the fut. ind., distinctly stated by Aken and Gildersleeve, may be seen by the following examples: And. 1. 4. οὐτ’ ἄν ὑπομείναιμι, οἰχήσομαι τε φεύγων. Dem. 20. 62. εἰ . . . ἄν . . . ἡγοῖσθε, ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ . . . ἀκούσεσθε. Her. 4. 97. ἔφομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἄν λειφθείην. Thuc. 6. 50. 1. ἀπεκρίναντο πόλει μὲν ἄν οὐ δέξασθαι, ἀγορὰν δ’ ἔξω παρέξεν. This opt. with ἄν may be used instead of the fut.¹ whenever the writer wishes to bring prominently forward a sharp future idea. Owing to the loss of the aoristic future save in a few verbs like ἔχω, where we have both ἔξω and στήσω, and in the mid. and pass.², where the distinction between durative and aoristic future can be kept apart, the force of the fut. is ambiguous. Hence a writer when he wishes to leave no doubt in the reader’s mind, may use the potential opt. to bring out this force, or in the passive the fut. mid for durative and fut. pass. for aoristic fut., as the following examples show:

Arist. Clouds 520. οὕτω νικήσαιμι τ’ ἐγὼ καὶ νομιζοίμην σοφός.

Eurip. Med. 473. 4. Ἐγὼ τε γὰρ λέξασα κουνισθήσομαι
ψυχὴν κακῶς σε καὶ σὺ λυπήσῃ κλέην.

And finally I should like to quote Gildersleeve again in *A. J. F.* VII, p. 565 he says: “ὥς has final subjunctive: ὅς final the fut. ind. or opt. with ἄν.”

Thus in final relative clauses as in object clauses, the fut. ind. is the regular construction, but here, though generally

¹ Cf. Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* XIV. 500.

² Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, §168.

ignored in our grammars, the opt. with *ḏ* may be substituted for the fut. ind.

Therefore whether we regard the construction as relative or interrogative in origin, there can be no legitimate objection to the use of the opt. with *ḏ* in a complementary final sentence, the introductory particle of which is itself modal, either relative or interrogative.

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